SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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To Our Readers.

It is a matter of regret to the publisher that arrangements made for printing The Herald and resuming its publication last week in Milwaukee did not "stay-put." We feel this the more since the delay will prove disappointing to those who have looked to this paper for a report of the Indianapolis convention. At the last moment when the report and other matter was ready for the printers, notification came that they were not ready for us, and in the brief time remaining it was impossible to get the issue for August 10 delivered to you on time.

In the transfer of a publication from one place to another and the work of installing it under new conditons, such delays and disappointments will necessarily arise. But The Herald under new auspices is now in your hands. We hope it will prove even more satisfactory than it has been in the past and become a power in the land for the advancement of Socialism.

The subscription price remains the same and the books are open.

A Tramp's Summer Resort.

A year or so ago, the A. Booth Packing company of Chicago discarded a number of old packing boxes used for hauling fish from lake steamers to the company's sheds. These boxes were 250 in number, and in size were 6 feet long, 3 wide and 4 high, and being mounted on wheels could be easily rolled from place to place.

A hobo of inventive genius conceived the happy idea of turning these discarded boxes into a tramps' city. He wheeled them into line, so as to form regular streets, which he christened with such high-sounding names as Back Bay boulevard, Piccadilly drive, or Rue d'Italian. Then he sent out an announcement to all tramps whom it might concern, informing them of the founding of the new city, and inviting settlers. This he did by means of cypher dispatches chalked on the sides of freight cars. These soon carried the news far and wide.

So it happened that while wealthy and "respectable" travelers were comfortably journeying in the Pullman to Newport or Saratoga, quite a different class of tourists, uneasily balanced on the trucks under freight cars, or stowed away in ill-smelling cattle trains, made their stealthy way to the new summer resort. Here they took up their abode in their fishy summer cottages, and from that time Fishtown became a regular city of tramps, which all through the warm weather is always crowded with visitors.

Yes, strange to say, these repulsive boxes were regarded as most desirable dwelling places by hundreds of men from all parts of the country. And what is still more strange to say, the press took a humorous view of the whole affair and wrote up the story of Fishtown for the amusement of the public. A reporter made a chatty sketch about the picturesque characters he found in the unique resort, and this furnished a funny column or two for the American citizen to glance over between his coffee and his Sunday omelet.

But to really understand the tramp you must study him in the making. The biologist does not profess to have a scientific knowledge of any animal unless he has investigated its history as an embryo. No more can we comprehend the character of the tramp till we have followed him step by step through the process of his development. First we see him as a workingman, more or less prosperous; then comes a panic, a run of hard times, or some lesser disturbance of our ever uneasy industrial system, that continually shifts and displaces its workers, as the sea waves toss and grind the small pebbles on the beach. The future tramp is thrown out of work, but at first he reaches out in every direction in a frantic attempt to clutch at any employment whatever. He does not lose self-respect all at once. For a while he knocks loudly at the closed door of industry, but the door remains closed to him. Piece by piece his simple belongings are pawned, his home becomes bare and cheerless, till at last he is turned out of it for nonpayment of rent. His wife and children are obliged to take refuge in some shelter or "Home," most falsely so called, and the man predestined to trampdom is left alone, without work, home or family. What is there before him but the road?

No tramp ever chose the tramp's profession. No young man starting in life ever imagined that he would end it as a vagabond. But human nature is so constituted that any enforced habit becomes at last voluntary. After months of unwilling idleness our unemployed workingman at last accepts the situation, becomes more and more disinclined to labor, and finally sinks into the gulf over which he struggled so long.

The process of tramp-making will go on as long as the wage system lasts. With competition of labor, employment is always held by an uncertain tenure, and there are a thousand causes any one of which may divorce the workingman from his trade, and throw him out helpless on the world, a useless tool, a waste of society. The tramp is only a by-product of civilization.

A few stronger natures [illegible] the [illegible]. We sometimes read of the suicide of an unfortunate who has [illegible] in vain and ended his life in despair. It is only a tramp spoiled in the making, and one more blood-stain on the skirts of our modern society which forces men into the condition of wild beasts, roving and homeless and hunted.

The Worn-Out Man.

A respectable-looking old man drifted into a gospel meeting of the Rescue mission, says the Milwaukee Free Press. "At the close of the service he asked if it would be possible for him to stay all night, as he had no money to pay for a lodging elsewhere, though he was willing to work for it. In the morning he was set to loading a wagon with pine kindling, about the lightest kind of work in the mission's gift, but the foreman noticed that the old man could scarcely lift even a half basket of the pine. He tottered with feebleness but made no complaint until Mr. Sanford, who was sent for, asked him if the work was not too heavy for his strength. Then it came out that the old man had had nothing to eat for three days, but being too proud to beg he had said nothing of this to anyone."

Nor was this an exceptional case. There are always a number of forlorn, homeless old men in this mission, as in every other charitable institution in the country; men who have lived to extreme old age only to learn for the first time in their lives how salt is another's bread.

The sensationalist takes a morbid pleasure in the pathos of such tragedies as these, but it is their deep injustice that strikes the Socialist. Humiliation and injustice are the invariable rewards meted out to the proletaran who is so unfortunate as to survive the strength which through a long lifetime he has spent in the service of society; at best, he has nothing before him but a humiliating dependence on his children, and the painful consciousness that every year of his life is an added burden to those whom he loves, and a heavy handicap to them in the fierce struggle for existence. At worst, he is thrown away like a worn-out tool. Capricious charity can assist him or leave him to starve, just as the fancy chances to strike her.

Men who have spent their lives in butchering their fellowmen are honorably pensioned in old age. Men who have toiled to provide for the needs of their fellows are themselves unprovided for and unrewarded.

It is the injustice of the thing that hurts. To have served long, and to be punished for long service, to have grown gray in the toil of mankind and to find that the white head is no crown of glory, must be the sharpest pang to these Sears of a hard and ungrateful society. There is no heavier charge against our present system than this cynical ingratitude to the aged.

Loses Faith in Referendum.

Dr. Washington Gladden, whose works upon social, economical and political questions have attracted international attention among certain people, has lost faith in the referendum mode of government. Dr. Gladden is pastor of the First Congregational church of Columbus, O., and a member of the city council, a position which he accepted at the urgent solicitation of the electors of his ward.

At the special election for the issuance of municipal electric light plant and sewer bonds, the vote for which was canvassed last week, but 6000 out of a total registration of 35,000 voted.

"This is not cheering to those who advocate the referendum," Dr. Gladden said. "More than 12,000 people were at the grand circuit meeting the day before the election, and yet they could not find time to say whether they wanted nearly $3,000,000 issued."

Recently Dr. Gladden tried to test the will of his constituents concerning a matter which was before the council, but out of 2100, less than 400 replied.

All Right, Livy, We Shall See.

Congressman Livingstone of Georgia promises that the industrial commission will handle the trust question without gloves in its forthcoming report, and blandly suggests that it will be "disposed of." He says:

"It is not a political question, for both Republicans and Democrats are directly or indirectly associated with the various trusts. The people of this country can hardly realise the intense feeling which exists between the representatives of capital on the one side and organised labor on the other.

"This state of affairs cannot go on much longer without serious consequences. I am not an alarmist, but the tension is so strong and the feeling so intense that a war between capital and labor can only be averted by the most cautious, conservative and, at the same time, positive, interference by the national government."

A rotary type-making machine has been invented in England, which casts 60,000 letters an hour, as against an average of 3000 under the present system. The new device is especially designed for job printing establishments, as it will cast any size of type, and its operation is so swift and [illegible] so inexpensive that it may be cheaper to make new type than to [illegible] the old.

THE STEEL WORKERS' STRUGGLE.

All signs point to a most determined and prolonged struggle between trades unionism and the organized capital of the country. In the United States Steel corporation union labor confronts the most powerful combination of wealth in the world. Wherever differences exist between individual employers and workmen the one great object of the former is completely in accord with that of the steel trust, namely, the annihilation of organized labor.

This meeting face to face of the forces of labor and capital was inevitable; it may be the culmination of one phase of industrial evolution to be followed by the entrance of the workers into the arena of politics independent of capitalist interests and parties. If such proves to be the outcome and union labor at last awakens to the necessity of throwing off the yoke of private ownership of the means of life, with all its injustice and brutality, the contest will not have been in vain.

The men the trades unionists are fighting have unlimited resources at their command. From the money standpoint alone, the odds are all in favor of Morgan and his associates. They realise their power and fully appreciate the magnitude of their interests. They are class-conscious and will do all that their class interests require for the perpetuation of their supremacy. They are rich from the proceeds of industrial and commercial brigandage which the laws sanction but all humane men are tiring of.

Reasoning men stand aghast at the prospect of organized gluttony invested with power equal to the task of utterly destroying associations of workingmen for self-protection, such as trades unions are. Yet such a calamity is a perfectly natural consequence of a social order that clothes the few with economic mastery over the many and gives governmental ratification and support to their schemes of conquest for profit.

Pitifully impotent are the outcries of the steel workers at this time against the Republican party, which, as they say, "we have stood by and supported in the past." Suppose they have; what then? Do they still grope in the darkness and vainly imagine that any party, save and except one controlled by their own class and working for their class interests, ever did or will care a rap for their support only as it conserves the property interests of social parasites and fattens the enemies of mankind—rent, interest and profit?

If union labor men realise the possible results of this struggle, which is only a phase in the historic development of society to better conditions, they will stand shoulder to shoulder and hip to hip against the [illegible]ing horde of rapacity, the anarchists of wealth, and this they will do wha[illegible] immediate privations and suffering the conflict may impose upon them. For, let it not be forgotten, the defeat and disbandment of workingmen's associations, the denial of their right to unite for mutual protection, would be distinctly the most serious blow that could fall upon labor in this country. Society protests against it; thinking men will do all in their power to ward off a calamity so prolific with social wretchedness and disorder.

When union labor men fully realise, as they are likely to do in the impending crisis, the hopelessness and helplessness of their life conditions under capitalism, the utter futility of looking to capitalist-controlled parties for any permanent betterment, they will see in Socialism the true emancipator and the funeral knell of the United States Steel combine and the capitalistic tail-enders will be rung.

Let every man understand that he is engaged in an incidental fight in an age-long struggle for freedom and be true to the interests of his fellowmen—his class. Then, no matter what the immediate results, ultimate good has in some measure been attained.

The duty of Socialists at this hour is plain. Agitate, educate, organise!

CAPITALIST TAX DODGERS.

Have you ever paused for a moment to think how the rich manage to shirk their responsibilities when it comes to the payment of taxes for the support of a government which they control?

Do you know that while that class never loses its grip on the government and all institutions by which the people are exploited, it never pays its due share of the taxes, but shifts the burden onto the backs of the producers of wealth?

These are questions that should not only interest you, but cause you to examine the bases of the present social system. If you will do this you will find that labor not only pays the bills incurred in the complex business of government, but also pays all others—even those contracted by the rich in maintaining luxurious establishments and spending seasons of gaiety and high living in the social whirl at Newports and Buzzard Bays.

There is no subject more worth pondering over just at this time. When taxes come due, when bills are presented, if they are paid, labor makes the payment.

Consider a few facts in this connection: An individual not belonging to the wealthy class is compelled to pay taxes; a corporation pays if it wants to, and as a rule it is opposed to doing anything of the kind. A capitalist in Chicago said the other day that he was willing to "give" the city something if the authorities would not "bother" him. Yet we are told we have one law for all classes, rich and poor alike. No greater mistake is made by men anywhere.

The Colorado papers last week contained the names of 2200 corporations doing business under the laws of that state (which the all crave and manage to get), that had failed to pay their corporation license tax. Do you know of a single peddler who is not compelled to pay? Why are not corporations also compelled? Do you know why?

Did you ever know a workingman who, if he owned a cottage worth $500, got it taxed at $1.00? No. Do you know why a railroad corporation with property worth fifty million dollars should be taxed less than $50,000?

It is one of the puzzles of a capitalist order of government—a difference in the application of the law which you should try to understand.

Twenty-two great railroads center in Chicago. They own property in the city valued at two hundred million dollars. This property is valued for taxation at about two million dollars. But when it comes to paying taxes the corporations, through their paid attorneys, object and do not pay at all if they can get out of it.

No wealthy individual or corporation anywhere pays a fair share of the taxes, but nowhere do they "evade" the protection of the government which the people support.

If you cared to go far enough into this subject you would soon learn that there is no prospect anywhere visible for a change except in the adoption of Socialism, which would put an end to all the monstrous deception and jobbery incident to a system based upon private property in land and the instruments of production and distribution.

A critical analysis of the work of the Indianapolis convention inevitably discloses the acceptance of the main contentions of the Herald and the Social Democratic party by the Socialists of America. Even the "demands for farmers" were given a show of respect and a special committee of seven was appointed to draft an address on the farmers' interests and the relation of Socialism to agriculture. That should be a document that will do immense good for the movement. The committee consists of Berger, Simons, Stedman, Hillquit, Harriman, Clemens and Hampton.

In many towns in the West, notably at Madison and Appleton, Wis., a strange state of affairs has developed. That portion of the population which pays board bills is up in arms because hotel and boarding house keepers want a little larger share in the prosperity of these days. The boarders have suddenly found that they are not as prosperous as they thought they were, and an increase of less than 2 cents more per meal tests their ability to pay and smashes the claims of the prosperity jaspers beyond recognition.

The Filipinos are not to be bothered with nonsense about "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Instead of that they are to be impressed by their American teachers with the great advantages of subjugation. That is the reason why the American teacher of the Filipino kid will receive more pay than a teacher in Milwaukee.

Matt Quay's Legislature has adjourned. The Philadelphia Press, a Republican paper, says the votes in it ranged in price from $1000 to $60,000. But when a Socialist says that capitalist politics are corrupt, the smart Alecs are ready to run him out of town.

By the way, President Gompers does not appear to have contributed any part of that $200,000 to the "dinner-pail" fund of the striking machinists. The first thing to look after when labor goes to war is the commissary department.

The author of the book which seeks to demonstrate that all men are liars and that clean cut truth is never spoken, evidently has no acquaintance with the Socialist agitator and the principles of Socialism.

"Our best people," said a man the other day, "have withdrawn from politics." Considering the character of the people who have not withdrawn and are in control, it does look very much that way.

The [illegible] of the Supreme court have [illegible] the constitution as full of holes as [illegible].

The Mill of Capitalism.

The announcement is made that the national coal trust with a capitalization of $300,000,000, will be completed by January 1. It will be financed by J. P. Morgan and his friends.

At a meeting of the directors of the Standard Oil company August 5, a dividend of $8 a share was declared, payable on September 6, to the holders of the company's common stock. This is the same rate as that of the dividend declared last August, but it is a reduction from the dividend declared last May. Payment of the current dividend will distribute $7,800,000. Thus far in 1901, including the pending disbursement, the company has declared 40 per cent in dividends, as against 38 per cent for the same part of 1900. In June, 1901, 12 per cent was paid; in March, 20 per cent. During 1900 20 per cent was paid in March; 10 per cent in June; 8 per cent in September, and 10 per cent in December. It paid 33 per cent in 1899 and 1897, and 30 per cent in 1898. Prior to 1896 it paid 12 per cent annually for five years.

Another vast industrial combination, one of the greatest that has ever been planned, is evidently under way and two prominent Pittsburgers are taking a leading part in the consummation of the project that has for its object the placing in the power of one corporation the control of the world's supply of window glass. The proposed combination is to take in all of the window manufacturers of the world. If effected, the business will be conducted from Pittsburg and the nucleus of the organization will be the American Window Glass company of that city. This company practically controls the window glass business of the United States and the only factories in Europe that amount to anything are located in Belgium.

Truth Told in Class Room.

To his class in sociology a few days ago, Prof. Charles Zeublin, of the Chicago university, spoke some wholesome truth.

"Class distinctions between rich and poor," he said, "between educated and uneducated, are as great here as in Europe, and our university graduates are as snobbish as those abroad.

"The division between educated and ignorant people is the greatest distinction of class that we can have, and this in spite of the fact that we have the greatest public school system in the world. Our university graduates, although their education is practically given to them by the people, are quite as snobbish as those of England or any other country. They are slow to recognize and act upon the obligation they owe to society.

"The result is that the public school system, designed to be our most democratic and levelling institution, in reality leads to the separation of those who receive its benefits from those who do not. The university man, whether educated in a state university or in some privately-endowed school, owes his education to the people, because the expense of it comes from the people ultimately. He therefore owes a greater debt to society than other men, but in few cases does he repay in any adequate measure."

Perverting the Schools.

The government of the country is not at Washington, but in the Stock exchange on Wall street. The public schools of America, those institutions which men uphold to the eyes of the world, which are spoken of with such pride and fervor on every Fourth of July celebration, these same public schools are now in the control of one great school book trust and the trust is in the hands of the capitalists. These men are the ones who decide what your children shall be taught. The teachers must do as they are bidden and they are always told to do the will of the scoundrels who control them. Even now histories are under consideration which teach the youth of this land that the methods pursued by these scoundrels are good and true, and that the poor laboring man must be kept down because he is ignorant and has no business to interfere in the affairs of his country. * * * *

The same capitalistic power which is dominating your public schools, your churches and the literature of your country is the power which is upbuilding and directing the policies of your colleges and universities. It is preparing a way to combat the rising power of Socialism. It is founding and inculcating its own schools of economics, of politics, of religion, and of philosophy. It is weaving the bridle and making the saddle upon which, if you are not careful, it will ride back to power even after your first victories have been won.—George D. Herron.

Half Fare for Workingmen.

In France and other European countries soldiers in uniform enjoy certain advantages. They travel on railroad and street car lines at reduced rates, and very low rates.

This arrangement meets with general approval everywhere. Even in this country, where it does not exist, the ordinary man would say:

"The soldiers get but little money, they take care of the nation, and it is only reasonable to give them lower rates."

How about the REAL soldiers of this republic—the great body of hard-working men who are paid about a dollar a day?

The nation does not buy them fancy clothes or gilt buttons, but they have a distinct uniform of their own.

Early in the morning, when other men are in bed, the cars are filled with them, and late in the evening the cars carry them back to their hard beds to rest for another day's work. Thick-soled shoes covered with mud or bleached with lime, grimy hands, clothes patched, repaired and faded, a shovel or bag of tools—such is the uniform of a great body of American working soldiers.

We do not speak now of the well-paid, fairly treated workman whose intelligent unionism has forced short hours and reasonably good pay.

We speak of the great army of those who dig for just enough to keep them alive and to let them feed insufficiently the children that are to take their places in the army of diggers.

The pay of these men does not average a dollar a day throughout the year. They travel on the street cars, paying 10 cents a day to go to and from their work. They give up one-tenth of their entire income.

If it were possible for them to save this tenth it would add inconceivably to their comfort, and would mean actually better food every day. It would still leave them poor, horribly poor; but it would do away with a form of oppression which takes one-tenth of all that such a man earns for the privilege of passing through the streets on cars which ought to be owned by the city and run WITHOUT CHARGE to the men unlucky in the industrial order.—Chicago American.

Overproduction in Sight.

The fact that fifty-three new steel plants are under construction, representing a capitalization of $137,500,000, and that nearly if not all the independent steel plants are expending millions in the aggregate to expand productive capacity is a fact, a condition and a tendency deserving of consideration. Nor has the fever of iron and steel expansion reached its climax. The amount of new capital now entering this industry is considerably in excess of $150,000,000, and it is no great exaggeration to say that before any resistance is offered it may reach $200,000,000. What the effect of this is likely to be it were mere guesswork to say. No one can guess at the probable volume of the world's requirements. Much of this suddenly-developed steel-making capacity is due to the enterprise and ambition of the squeezed-out or bought-out steelmakers who are unwilling to subside forever. They are re-entering the race with vim, experience and goaded zeal. This mighty on-coming capacity will soon begin to empty its supplies on the market and the inevitable result must be, it would appear, a rearrangement of prices, though steel rails will not be the first nor the second product to profit by the competition. And besides all this the United States Steel corporation is not done buying up competitors.—Railway and Engineering Review.

What Invention is Doing.

The British House of Lords has authorized the construction of a "mono-rail" railway from Liverpool to Manchester, but at this writing the House of Commons is withholding its permission. The promoters of the enterprise guarantee to operate trains at a speed of 110 miles per hour with perfect safety. Electricity is to be the motive power and the cars will be suspended on one rail in a manner that will assure the center of gravity to be twelve inches below the rail.

Consul Mahin of Reichenberg, Belgium, May 17, 1901, says that, according to a report from Brussels, a Belgian engineer by the name of Tobiansky has discovered a method by which smoke can be turned into light. In operating his device, the inventor collects the smoke from any kind of a fire and forces it into a receiver. It is then saturated with hydrocarburet, and a brilliant light results.

Time and labor-saving, and hence money-saving inventions are being developed with marvelous rapidity. A few recently announced are the following: A painting machine, operated by two men and warranted to do the work of sixteen. An automatic printing press feeder with a speed of 5000 per hour. A combination automobile plow, planter, cultivator and harvester, which can be operated by gasoline or electricity for 75 cents a day, doing the work of several teams of horses. An automatic machine to assist in the shipping of goods, by which, at the Elgin watch works, eighteen girls have been thrown out.

Two inventors in Warrenton, Ill., have built a rotary engine, at a cost of but $75, that competent authorities claim will revolutionize motive power. They have been offered $50,000 for the American patent, which they refuse. It is claimed that the new engine will [illegible] to make 2000 revolutions a minute, which would be sufficient speed to drive a locomotive at the rate of [illegible] miles an hour if the track could be kept on the rails.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Indianapolis Convention Effects Union of All Parties Represented in Response to Call of the Social Democratic Party.

STATE AUTONOMY GUARANTEED.

Immediate Demands Adopted After Prolonged Debate—Headquarters Located at St. Louis—The New Constitution.

The Socialists of the United States in convention at Indianapolis added an important chapter to the history of the movement, and gave, as we firmly believe, a new impetus to Socialism in this country. In response to the call adopted by the January convention of the Social Democratic party with headquarters at Chicago, over 120 delegates representing the two main wings and four independent state and territorial organizations, assembled in Masonic Temple, Indianapolis, at 10 o'clock in the morning of July 29, and during their deliberations extending through four days and three nights, disposed of the vexed question of unity. It was the largest national convention of Socialists ever held in this country, both as to the number of individual delegates present and the grand total of organized Socialists represented. It is due each of the factions to say that the deliberations were marked by an intense desire for the welfare and advance of the cause of Socialism. The Chicago wing stood for a lasting union, and believed this could be accomplished only through state autonomy. All were anxious to keep personal questions and factional interests subordinate to the one great object of the occasion, the unification of the parties in the sole interest of a common devotion and loyalty to principles alike inseparable from the life of every delegate on the floor. This controlling passion of the assemblage was unmistakably evident as early as the first meeting of the credentials committee, when the members of that committee representing the Chicago wing tendered the records of National Secretary Theodore Debs to prove the validity of the claimed representation under the provisions of the call. The Springfield wing had no books; their delegates were willing to accept the word of the comrades on the other side without inspecting books and the representation they claimed was allowed.

Called to Order.

The convention was called to order promptly at 10 o'clock by Comrade J. W. Kelley of Marion, Ind., representing the Chicago wing on the committee of arrangements, who read the calls issued from Chicago and Springfield, and in a few well chosen and felicitous words bade the delegates welcome and called for nominations for temporary chairman.

Comrade George D. Herron was nominated and elected by acclamation.

Comrade Philip S. Brown was chosen unanimously for temporary secretary.

On motion the convention then proceeded to elect a committee of ten on credentials, four from Chicago, four from Springfield and two from the independent organization. The result was as follows:

Chicago—Thomas, Winchevsky, Westphal, Benessi.

Springfield—Richter, Greenbaum, Hillquit, Hayes.

Independents—Robinson, Jacobs.

A committee on rules similarly allotted to the different parties was elected as follows:

Chicago—Stedman and Seidl.

Springfield—Ryan and Harriman.

Independents—Dobbs.

Fraternal greetings were received and read from Eugene V. Debs, F. W. Ott, Laramie, Wyo.; Forward association, New York; Voice of Labor, New York; "Mother Jones," and others.

The noon hour having arrived, an adjournment was taken until 3 o'clock, when the committees were ordered to report.

When the convention reassembled the report of the committee on credentials was submitted by Comrade Morris Hillquit, showing 47 delegates from the Chicago wing, representing 1402 votes; 70 from Springfield with 4798 and 10 independents with 352 votes. During the two succeeding days the number of delegates from each party was increased, the total number represented being swelled to nearly 7000. There were delegates present from twenty states and one territory.

The report of the committee on rules brought up a debate on the question of parties voting separately on all important questions. Many of the delegates wanted all votes cast as one, but Comrade Berger in behalf of Chicago stood for a separate vote on the ground that the call required the submission of the work of the convention to a general vote of their party and members were entitled to know how delegates voted. The demand for a separate vote was finally agreed to upon the basis of a substitute offered by MacCartney of Massachusetts, accepted by Berger and unanimously adopted: "The vote by roll call on all important questions shall be taken by the parties separately; the aye and nay votes of the respective parties shall be added, and the majority and minority votes of the convention as a whole be determined; the majority vote of the whole shall be the act of the convention."

Committees were then chosen as follows:

Resolutions—Springfield party, Hoehn of Missouri; Chicago party, Kelly of Indiana; Independent, Seeds of Kentucky.

Platform—Springfield party, Hillquit, [illegible] and Simons; Chicago party, Berger, Haile and Westphal; Independent, [illegible].

Constitution—Chicago party, Stedman [illegible] MacCartney of Massachusetts [illegible] of New Jersey; Springfield [illegible] of New York, Morgan [illegible] of Illinois; Independent, Robinson of Kentucky.

Late in the afternoon permanent organization was effected and Comrade Herron elected chairman for the day, with Comrade William Mailly permanent secretary.

Secretaries' Reports.

The first order of business Tuesday morning was the election of the chairman for the day, and the choice fell upon Comrade J. F. Carey. The secretaries of the national parties then offered their reports, which were read and accepted. The report of National Secretary Butscher showed that the committee has granted charters to 137 new locals, with a membership of 1497, bringing the total number of locals up to 229. Reports from 147 locals showed a present membership of 7328, with 82 not reporting. The total receipts were stated to be $4187.66; total expenditures, $4167.22; cash on hand, $20.44. Due stamps had been sold to the number of 52,579. Liabilities were $677.02, covered by assets of $853.29, with a surplus on account of $176.27.

National Secretary Theodore Debs reported for the Chicago N. E. B. The report showed receipts since January 1, 1901, of $3707.01, and disbursements of $3637.64. Liabilities for loans and salaries were stated at $1083.55. He stated that a complete report would be given when the work of the convention is accomplished and his office transferred to successor. He expressed his hope that unity would be effected and said that when relieved from office he would not be a candidate for any official position in the party.

F. G. Strickland was elected assistant secretary.

Resolutions on Porto Rico.

The resolutions committee, through Hoehn, reported a resolution by Santiago Iglesias, the delegate from Porto Rico. Some objection was made to the phraseology, especially to the word "un-American," as applied to the treatment of the Porto Ricans by the administration—the delegates evidently being of the mind that such tyranny has now become very thoroughly American, as shown in the Coeur d'Alenes and elsewhere in the United States. The word was finally stricken out and the resolution adopted as follows:

"Whereas, the wage-working people of Porto Rico are in a deplorable condition, owing to capitalist rule and exploitation.

"Whereas, the present administration, under the pretext of giving to Porto Ricans a free government, is making every possible attempt to destroy the trade-union movement and prevent all labor and Socialist agitation;

"Whereas, the organized workingmen of Porto Rico, and especially the Socialists, have been persecuted and ill-treated in the most shameful and disgraceful manner by the political and military tools of the present administration; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we hereby enter our most emphatic protest against the brutal action of the administration;

"Resolved that we appeal to the organized wage workers of Porto Rico to continue their struggle for the right of organization and for the emancipation of labor;

"Resolved, that we appeal to organized labor of America to assist their hard-struggling brothers of Porto Rico and to call a halt to the brutalities and crimes committed by the administration against the working people of Porto Rico.

"Resolved, that we ask the American Federation of Labor to unite with the Socialists of Porto Rico in organizing the working class, industrially and politically, as their only hope of emancipation lies in such industrial and political organization."

Comrade Robinson (Kentucky) introduced a resolution requesting the delegates to patronize union barber shops during their stay in the city and inviting the barbers to study Socialism. This was adopted.

One of the Indianapolis papers having printed a ridiculous report to the effect that Eugene V. Debs had been turned down by the convention, Hoehn of St. Louis introduced the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

"Be not deceived by false newspaper reports. Unity convention is harmonious and enthusiastic. The union of Socialist forces will soon be an accomplished fact. Convention sends cordial greetings. You have our esteem and love now, as you have always had. Three cheers for the international Socialist movement and the social revolution. United we stand."

Later in the day the following reply was received from Comrade Debs:

"The expression of the convention is gratifying in the extreme. May a united and harmonious party crown your labors. Press reports do not disturb me. I am a Socialist. A thousand thanks to the delegates for their personal expression. But for illness in my family I would be with you."

To a large majority of the delegates who know that Comrade Debs is more strongly entrenched in the love and esteem of the people and of Socialists than ever before, the incident served as a passing amusement. His absence was deeply regretted by nearly all the delegates, irrespective of factions.

The Negro Question.

One of the most interesting discussions followed the introduction of a resolution on the negro question. There were three colored delegates in the convention—Costley of San Francisco and Adams and McKay of Indiana, the two latter being coal miners. The resolution submitted by the committee was not satisfactory to these delegates, and they spoke in a manner which commanded attention and evoked loud applause. Their remarks showed a firm grasp of Socialism and of the Social conception of the race question. The resolution was finally tabled. Costley then introduced a resolution on the negro question, but this was also tabled, as the delegates believed it hardly suitable for agitation purposes. A special committee, consisting of Hampton, Lux, Costley, Wanhope and Spring was then elected to draft an address to the negro voters, with the assistance of the colored delegates.

Many messages of greeting and congratulation were received during the day. Julius Zorn, national secretary of the United Brewery Workmen, expressed himself thus: "Three cheers for international Socialism! We are for unity every time." Other messages were from the German branch in Philadelphia and from organizations and individual Socialists in Washington, Montana, Oregon, California and Texas.

The convention was now ready for the report of the committee on platform, which was read by Comrade Margaret Haile. The reading being finished, there followed one of the most interesting debates ever heard in a Socialist gathering in the United States. It related to the practical working programme or "immediate demands," the question being, "Shall the platform contain immediate demands?" The majority committee's report favored the demands. Comrade Simons, for the minority, moved to strike them out. He supported his motion in a speech that elicited loud applause from the "revolutionary" delegates. Hoehn of St. Louis followed in support of the demands. Then the chairman was kept busy for an hour making up the list of those desiring to speak and not less than thirty-five had their names put down. It was decided to take a vote at 11:45 Wednesday morning, also to hold a night session to permit full discussion on the motion.

Among those who spoke to retain the "demands" were McCartney, Berger, Goebel, Hillquit, Morgan and Sieverman; against them were Murphy, Clemens, McSweeney, Backus and others. At the evening session Comrade Herron advocated the adoption of the explanatory clause which appears at the close of the platform and several of the opponents of "demands" expressed themselves willing to accept the platform practically as reported if this clause were inserted.

Wednesday morning the debate was resumed until the hour arrived for taking the vote. The vote stood 5358 for retaining the demands and 1325 for striking them out.

The Platform.

The Socialists of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirm its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the workers, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the working men to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of transition to Socialism also depends upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its [illegible] to elect [illegible] to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

AS SUCH MEANS WE ADVOCATE:

1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue therefrom to be used on the reduction of the taxes of the capitalist class, but the entire revenue to be applied first, to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees and then to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production, to decrease the share of the capitalist class and to increase the share of the workers in the product of their labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age, the revenue therefor to be derived from the government.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose, in order that the workers may receive the product of their toil.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in making these demands as steps in the overthrow of capital and in the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the people against the public ownership demands made by capitalistic political parties, which always result in perpetuating the capitalist system through the compromise or defect of the Socialist revolution.

When the debate on "demands" ended the vote was taken by roll call and stood as follows:

	For.	Against.
Chicago	1,347	142
Springfield	3,836	1,012
Independents	175	171
	5,358	1,325

Comrade Max Hayes of Cleveland was elected chairman of the day Wednesday. After the adoption of the platform the report of the committee on constitution was in order. The first paragraph, changing the name from Social Democratic to Socialist party, brought Comrade Berger to his feet. He moved to amend by substituting Social Democratic. After a lively discussion the convention adopted the paragraph as read and the name is the Socialist party of America.

National Constitution.

The constitution provides for a national committee of one from each state and territory, a national secretary with a salary of $1000 a year, locates headquarters at St. Louis and establishes state autonomy. There was a disposition on the part of a few delegates to form a strong centralized organization, but an overwhelming majority followed the lead of the Chicago wing for state autonomy. The constitution as adopted reads as follows:

The name of this organization shall be the Socialist party of America, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

There shall be a national committee, composed of one member from each organized state or territory, and a quorum of five to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than two years and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

This committee shall meet in regular session not oftener than once a year. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of members of such committee.

The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the national secretary, to represent the party in all national and international affairs, to organize unorganized states and territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party and to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the state committees and to make reports to national conventions. Any member of the national committee not a member of the local quorum may require the secretary to submit to a vote of the whole national committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the secretary, also for its consideration any part of the work of the secretary or of the local committee or any business belonging to the national committee.

The national committee shall elect a committee of five from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters, to supervise and assist the secretary as the national committee shall require and direct. Said committee of five shall form part of and be a quorum of the national committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the national committee. On the question of removal the said local quorum shall have no vote. This committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

The national secretary shall be elected by the national committee, and shall be subject to removal at its discretion.

In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten [illegible] organizations in different parts of [illegible] state or territory [illegible] central organization shall [illegible] jurisdiction of the [illegible] within their respective [illegible] the sole control of all [illegible] pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the national executive committee and subcommittee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Expenses of the national committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

The national secretary shall be in communication with the members of the national committee, the officers of the organized states and territories, and with members in unorganized states and territories. The secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of $1000 annually.

Headquarters shall be located at St. Louis. But said headquarters may be changed by the national committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

Each state or territory may organize in such way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions of this constitution.

A state or territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each state or territory so organized shall receive a charter.

The platform of the Socialist party adopted in convention, or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

The state committee shall pay to the national committee every month a sum equal to 5 cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

The secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the local quorum of five shall issue the same to all party organizations in such way as the national committee shall direct.

The national committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all state and territorial organizations.

The state committees shall make semi-annual reports to the national committee concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

The national committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals, the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application.

This constitution may be amended by a national convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the national committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within thirty days after being requested to do so by five locals in the different states.

All acts of the national committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing.

Comrade Philip S. Brown was elected chairman on Thursday, the last day of the convention.

Resolutions heartily endorsing the trades union movement were adopted and all Socialists urged to identify themselves with organized labor.

National Secretary Elected.

The report of the committee on constitution recommended that the convention elect a secretary and locate headquarters, and that when ten states have elected their national committeemen the national committee shall be considered formed, but no state shall elect its committeeman before the first of September, 1901.

In accordance with the above recommendation to elect a secretary Comrade Leon Greenbaum was chosen by acclamation.

The following St. Louis comrades were elected a provisional committee of five, to act until the election of national committeemen Feb. 22, 1902: Baird, Hoehn, Hildebrand, Putnam and Dunn. The committee will also revise the proceedings of the convention. The proceedings were taken in shorthand by a professional reporter employed by the joint committee of arrangements.

To emphasize the fact that the various parties represented had formed a complete unity, subject to a referendary vote of the Chicago wing, the following resolution was adopted amidst great enthusiasm:

"Resolved, That the Social Democratic party, with headquarters at Springfield, Mass.; the Social Democratic party, with headquarters at Chicago; the Socialist party of the State of Texas, the Social Democratic party of the states of Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, hereby surrender their separate and independent existence and merge and amalgamate into one organization."

The question of the location of headquarters came up Thursday at a time when many of the delegates had left for home. There was great interest shown in its settlement by those remaining, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Davenport being mentioned. Strong arguments were advanced in favor of Chicago as the most suitable place, [illegible]

The convention by [illegible] decided that the new party shall pay the [illegible] standing obligations of the [illegible] and all office [illegible] except [illegible] pertaining to [illegible] the new party standing upon the principle of state autonomy.

Other resolutions adopted were against injunctions and an irresponsible judiciary, prohibiting Socialists joining the armed force of the Capitalist class, favoring the trades union movement and advising Socialists to join the unions as economic agencies, expressing sympathy with the negro race, condemning the record of the administration in Porto Rico, and prohibiting Socialists accepting positions under the patronage system controlled by capitalist parties.

The injunction resolution as adopted reads as follows:

"Whereas, the injunction has become, in the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by which the capitalist class seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workingmen;

"Resolved, that we, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalist class and hostile to the interests of labor, and we call upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own interests by voting the Socialist ticket."

The convention adjourned late Thursday night with songs and ringing cheers for the social revolution and the united party. Every comrade was, so far as we were able to learn, well satisfied with the result, although the opponents of "immediate demands" promise to keep up the fight on that issue.

With greetings to comrades everywhere the Herald now resumes its work for International Socialism and the Socialist Party of America.

Trades Unionists and Socialism.

"The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trades union movement is the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention of trades unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trades union forces today, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trades unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aims and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

Convention Notes.

Eugene V. Debs was prevented by illness in his family from attending the convention. His views on the outcome will be found in an article written for the Herald, which appears elsewhere.

Theodore Debs was called away Wednesday by the death of Mrs. Debs' father at Denver, Col. He left Thursday morning for Denver, where he remained all of this week.

National Secretary Greenbaum's address is 4014 a Evans avenue, St. Louis, where the headquarters are temporarily located.

Comrade Herron contributed $200 towards a fund to enable the committee to inaugurate its work.

Morris Hillquit easily took the lead of the Springfield delegates. He is cool and analytical, a clever phrasemaker and clear in the statement of his views.

Seven members of the Socialist party of Chicago went to Indianapolis on bicycles. They started Tuesday morning of the week before the convention and had a red-hot time in more ways than the weather imposed. At every important town on the trip propaganda meetings were held.

Comrade McSweeney, who found himself in the minority on "immediate demands," made a hit in his ten-minute talk on municipal rabbits, municipal mutton and municipal rat-traps.

The delegates present from Chicago and representing the Social Democratic party were Mrs. Corinne Brown, Philip S. Brown, Theodore Debs, Seymour Stedman, C. T. H. Westphal, A. S. Edwards, W. J. McSweeney, Charles Tyl, J. A. Ambros. Wisconsin sent Elizabeth H. Thomas, Victor L. Berger, Emil Seidl and A. B. Forman. Massachusetts was well represented by Margaret Haile and F. O. McCartney; Indiana by J. W. Kelly, James Oneal, Martin H. Wetzel and others; New York by M. Winchevsky; then came Ohio, Michigan, Connecticut, New Jersey, Missouri, Kansas and other states, running up the total number of delegates representing the Chicago wing to nearly fifty.

Indianapolis Journal's Comment.

The Indianapolis Journal, which published every day very good reports of the convention, had the following to say editorially:

"If the Journal correctly understands the object of the Socialist convention which met in this city [illegible]

THE PROLETARIAT.

ADAPTED FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL KAUTSKY.

I. Effect of Machinery.

In all [illegible] the capitalist system of production prevails, especially in such countries as the United States where capitalism has reached the point of production on a large scale, we find the population divided mainly into two classes: first, the capitalists who possess the means of production—tools, machinery, etc.—but who take no part in production itself; and secondly, the wage-workers, the proletariat, who possess nothing but their labor power, on the sale of which they live, and whose labor alone brings forth the whole wealth of society.

[illegible] used a large supply of proletarians, especially in other countries and in [illegible] methods were [illegible] to furnish this requisite supply. Today, however, in the United States especially, such methods are no longer needed. The superior power of capitalist production on a large scale over small production is today sufficient, without doing open violence to the law or to private property, but on the contrary, with the very assistance of these, year in year out to rob of all property a sufficient number of small farmers and industrialists, who are then thrown upon the streets, who merge with the mass of the proletariat, and who thereby satisfy the ever increasing capitalist demand for more human flesh.

That the number of the proletariat is steadily on the increase in this country is such a palpable fact that even they who would make us believe that society today rests upon the same basis that it did a hundred years ago, and who try to paint in rosy colors the picture of the small producer, no longer attempt to deny it. Indeed, a revolution has taken place in the makeup of society, the same as it has in the system of production. The capitalist form of production has overthrown all others and become the dominant one in the field of industry; similarly wage-labor is today the dominant form of labor; a hundred years ago the farming peasantry took the first place; later, the small city industrialists; today it is the wage-earner or proletariat.

In all civilized countries the proletarians are today the largest class; it is their condition and modes of thought that control those of all the other divisions of labor. This state of things implies a complete revolution in the condition and thought of the bulk of the population. The conditions of the proletariat differ radically from those of all other former categories of labor. The small farmer, the artisan, the small producers generally, were, namely, the owners of the product of their labor by reason of their ownership of the means of production; contrariwise, the product of the labor of the proletarian does not belong to him, it belongs to the capitalist, to the purchaser of his labor-power, to the owner of the requisite instruments of production. True enough the proletariat is paid therefor by the capitalists, but the value of his wages is far below that of his product.

When the capitalist in industry—and let it be here said, once for all, that, at the present stage of development in production, agriculture is as much an industry as any other—purchases the only commodity which the proletarian can offer for sale, [illegible] he does so for the only purpose of utilizing it in a profitable way. The more the workingman produces the larger the value of his product. If the capitalist were to work his employes only long enough to produce the worth of the wages he pays them, he would clear no profits. But however willing the capitalist is to pose as the benefactor of suffering humanity, his capital cries for "profits" and finds in him a willing listener. The longer the time is extended during which the workmen labor in the service of the capitalists, over and above the time needed to cover their wages, the larger is the value of their product, the larger is the surplus over and above the capitalist outlay in wages, and the larger is the quantity of exploitation to which these workmen are subjected. This exploitation or fleecing of labor finds a limit only in the powers of endurance of the working people and in the resistance which they may be able to offer to their exploiters.

In capitalist production the capitalist and the wage-worker are not active together as the employer and employed used to be in previous industrial epochs. The capitalist now develops into, and remains essentially, a merchant. His activity, in so far as he may be at all active, limits itself, like that of the merchant, to the operations of the market. His labors consist in purchasing as cheaply as possible the raw material, labor power and other essentials, and to turn around and sell the finished products as dearly as possible. Upon the field of production itself he does nothing except to secure the largest quantity of labor from the workmen for the least possible amount of wages, and thereby to squeeze out of them the largest possible quantity of surplus values. With regard to his workmen he is not a fellow-worker, he is only a driver, an exploiter. The longer they work, the better off he is; he is not tired out if the hours of labor are unduly extended; he does not perish if the method of production becomes a murderous one. In comparison with all former ruling classes the capitalist is the most reckless of the life and safety of his employes. Extension of the hours of work, abolition of holidays, introduction of night labor, damp or overheated factories filled with poisonous gases, such are the "improvements" which the capitalist mode of production has introduced for the benefit of the working class.

The introduction of machinery increases still further the danger to life and limb for the workingman. The machine system fetters him to a monster that moves perpetually with a gigantic power and with insane speed. Only the closest, never-flagging attention can protect the workingman, attached to such a machine, from being seized and broken by it. Protective measures cost money; the capitalist does not introduce them unless he is forced thereto. Economy being the much-vaunted virtue of the capitalist, he is constrained by it to save room and to squeese as much machinery as possible into the workshop. What cares he that the limbs of his workingmen are thereby endangered? Workingmen are cheap, but large, airy workshops are dear.

There is still another respect in which the capitalist application of machinery lowers the condition of the working class. It is this: The tool of the former mechanic was cheap; it was subject to few changes that would render it useless. It is otherwise with the machine; in the first place it costs money, much money; in the second place, if, through improvements in the system, it becomes useless, or if it is not used to its full capacity, it will bring loss instead of profit to the capitalist. Again, the machine is worn out not only through use but through idleness; furthermore, the introduction of science into production, the result of which is the machine itself, causes constant new discoveries and inventions to take the place of older ones, and renders constantly, now this, then that sort of machine, and often whole factories at once, unable to compete with the improved ones before they have been used up to their full extent. Therefore, owing to these constant changes, every machine is in constant danger of being made useless before it is used up; this is sufficient ground for the capitalist to utilize his machine as quickly as possible from the moment he puts it in operation; in other words, the capitalist application of the system of machinery is a particular spur that drives the capitalist to extend the hours of labor as much as possible, to carry on production without interruption, to introduce the system of night and day shifts, and, accordingly, to rear the unwholesome system of night work into a permanent system.

At the time the system of machinery began to develop, some ideologists declared the golden age was at hand; the machine was to release the workingman and render him a free man. In the hands of the capitalist, however, the machine has become the most powerful lever towards making heavier the load of labor borne by the proletariat, and to aggravate his servitude into an unbearable condition.

But it is not only with regard to the hours of work that the condition of the wage-worker and proletariat has suffered with the introduction of machinery. It suffered also with regard to his wages. The proletarian, the workman of today, does not eat at the table of the capitalist; he does not live in the same house. However wretched his home may be, however miserable his food, nay, even though he may famish, the well-being of the capitalist is not disturbed by the sickening sight. The words Wages and Starvation used to be opposites; the free workingman could formerly starve only when he had no work. Whoever worked earned Wages, he had enough to eat. Starvation was not his lot. The unenviable distinction was reserved for the capitalist system of production to reconcile these two opposites—Wages and Starvation,—and to raise Starvation-Wages into a permanent institution, yea, into a prop of the present social system.

[To be Continued.]

...midable class movement. In a free country, where universal suffrage prevails and where all shades of political opinion find expression by organization, socialism must be reckoned with among others. The word has a bad odor imported from Europe, where it is closely allied to anarchism.

"The Socialist movement in this country seems to be aiming at the abolition of private ownership of land and at government ownership of public utilities. The platform of the Social Democratic party contained, among others, the following declarations:

"The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the race of competition. Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political and the other its economic wing."

"The platform further declared in favor of the abolition of the wage system and the common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

"It is well enough to recall such declarations as these to show what kind of ideas are taking root in the country. The delegates who have just assembled here from various parts of the country are earnest, and some of them are able men. They think they know what they want, and they are getting together. Men do not travel a long distance in such weather as this and in an off year in politics for fun. If they succeed in forming a political alliance with the labor unions they will become at once a power in politics."

List of Delegates.

Following is a complete list of the delegates to the convention. The figures after each name indicate the number of members represented by the delegate. Where no figures are given the comrade represented only himself:

Chicago Faction.

CONNECTICUT.—J. W. Brown, [illegible].

MICHIGAN.—Wm. L. [illegible], Kalamazoo [illegible].

[illegible]—George H. [illegible].

ILLINOIS.—Theo. Debs; Charles Eichorn, Staunton, 51; J. A. Ambrose, 107; Chas. Tyle, 10; Corinne S. Brown, 8; S. Steadman, 45; E. Backus, 50; M. J. McSweeney, 2; Phil. S. Brown, 2; A. S. Edwards, 5; O. T. Westphal, 83. (All except Eichorn were from Chicago.)

INDIANA.—John H. Adams, Brazil, 13; J. H. Arnold, Terre Haute, 3; Adrian Babcock, Indianapolis; Martha A. Biegler, Indianapolis; Ed. H. Evinger, Terre Haute, 21; R. Gressing, Indianapolis, 7; J. H. Hollingsworth, South Bend, 4; Theo. Heberlein, Indianapolis, 6; Rich. Hinse, Indianapolis, 5; J. W. Kelly, Marion, 14; H. R. Kepler, Richmond, 8; Edw. D. McKay, Richmond; E. H. Meyer, Evansville, 19; Hugo Miller, Indianapolis, 8; Jas. Oneal, Terre Haute, 18; H. W. Smith, Clay City, 6; Leroy E. Sagder, South Bend, 4; Chas. A. Thornton, Indianapolis, 18; Martin H. Wefel, Fort Wayne, 14.

MASSACHUSETTS. — Margaret Halle, Roxbury, 3; Fred. O. MacCartney, Rockland, 110.

OHIO.—Anthony Bury, 2; J. W. Dennis, 4; Harry C. Thompson, 11; Robt. J. Waite, 7. (All from Cincinnati.)

WISCONSIN.—Victor L. Berger, 162; C. A. Born, Sheboygan, 100; Albert J. Forman, 49; Emil Seidel, 121; Elizabeth H. Thomas, 114. (All from Milwaukee except Born.)

Springfield Faction.

CALIFORNIA.—Wm. E. Costley, San Francisco, 99; Harry Ryan, San Jose, 38; F. J. Spring, Los Angeles, 132; H. Gaylord Wilshire, Los Angeles, 47.

CONNECTICUT.—Wm. E. White, New Haven, 162.

ILLINOIS.—Jas. H. Bard, 18; John Collins, 102; R. A. Gaadt; M. Jacker, 5; A. [illegible], 51; Jas. Lambert; Sula Lowrie; C. F. Lowrie; W. T. Mills, 108; Thos. J. Morgan, 53; M. L. Morris; Marcus Hitch; E. Richter, 55; J. W. Saunders; A. M. Simons, 109; Fred H. Strickland, 94; John R. Towne; Julius Vahlteich, 20; Jos. Wanhope; John Will; Wm. H. Wise; D. M. Smith. (All from Chicago.)

INDIANA.—Wm. L. Hamilton, 13.

MAINE.—[illegible].

MASSACHUSETTS.—[illegible], Springfield, 45; Wm. Butscher, 14; Jas. F. Carey, Haverhill, 115; S. E. Putney, Somerville, 25; [illegible], Springfield, [illegible]

[illegible]

MICHIGAN.—[illegible]

[illegible]

MISSOURI.—W. H. Baird, 23; M. Ballard Dunn; Leon Greenbaum, 7; W. J. Hager; G. A. Hoehn, 88; E. T. Behrens, Sedalia, 45; C. Lipscomb, Liberal, 24; R. Murphy; E. Val. Putnam, 40; George H. Turner, Kansas City, 90; Otto Vierling. (From St. Louis, unless otherwise designated.)

NEW JERSEY.—Carl Pankopf, West Hoboken, 149; Ernest Schilling, Newark, 126.

OHIO.—W. C. Benton, Cincinnati, 15; W. C. Edwards, Portsmouth, 27; Samuel Ernst, Toledo, 48; John Evans, Massillon, 7; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland, 329; Mrs. M. S. Hayes; Chas. R. Martin, Toledo, 49; Martha H. McHugh, Cleveland; Alois Niek, 15; E. H. Randall, Springfield.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Chas. Heydrick, Erie, 198.

TENNESSEE.—John M. Ray, Nashville, 10.

WASHINGTON.—E. Lux, Whatcom, 347.

PUERTO RICO.—Santiago Iglesias, 483.

NEW YORK.—L. D. Abbott, 197; Job Harriman, 343; Carrie Rand Herron; Geo. D. Herron; Morris Hillquit, 337; Wm. Mailly, 9; Frank A. Sieverman, Rochester, 158; Henry L. Slobodin, 334. (All from New York city except Sieverman.)

Independent States.

The unaffiliated state organizations were represented as follows:

IOWA.—W. A. Jacobs, Davenport, 41; John M. Work, Des Moines, 15.

KENTUCKY.—Chas. Dobbs, Louisville, 88; F. R. Markert, Louisville, 37; F. L. Robinson, Louisville, 8; F. E. Seeds, Covington, 22.

TEXAS.—S. J. Hampton, Bonham, 171.

Now that the Sultan of Jolo is on McKinley's payroll he wears a big diamond in his skull cap.

Morgan's "Cop" Force Increased.

Pierpont Morgan is afraid of violence as an outcome of the strike. Special policemen and detectives have been stationed at his office and regular patrolmen are detailed for duty in the vicinity from the moment he arrives until he goes home. He does not necessarily expect the attack to come from a striker, but from some man "whose mind has been unbalanced from reading of the strike." [illegible]

IT IS COMING.

Inspired by the Words "The Toilers" and Dedicated to the S. D. P. of A.

By Comrade H. S. Genevra Lake.

It is coming o'er the mountains
With the rapid stride of grace;
It is coming,—all the valleys
Show the glory of its face.

It is coming! long we've waited
As the solemn years rolled by;
While the poets and the prophets
With their songs have brought it nigh.

It is coming; men of muscle,
As you read the glowing word,
Lift your faces with a tremor,
As when Ocean depths are stirred.

For the fountains of the Spirit,
That have slept through all the years,
Now are moving with the pulses
Of the toilers' steady tears.

Oh, I catch, with rare rejoicing,
All the glory of the time,
As I, also, bend to service
On the rocky road I climb.

And I thank the God of Justice,
With a joy no tongue can tell,
That at last we know the meaning
Of the story of old Hell.

Nevermore shall man, elated
With his ermine and his crown,
Dare to stand in scornful silence
Where he tramples millions down.

This is judgment;—thrones will tremble,
And the "submerged" will step forth
From the gloom of torrid jungles,
From the frozen ice-bergs north.

All will come, and shout: Hosanna!
Day of righting every wrong!
While the poets and the prophets
Speed the legions with their song.

It is coming! Social Justice!
Listen! runners to and fro!
We shall all refuse to gather
Things we did not help to sow.

This is that strange thing "Religion"!
Write it, read it, con it well:
Whoso takes another's product
Thereby makes his bed in hell.

It is coming! shout Hosannas!
As the millions, mad with pain,
Join the army of Rebellion,
And give battle to old Gain.
Olympia, Wash., U. S. A.

Editorial Shearings.

After all it matters not very much who has the best of the Sampson-Schley controversy. It matters not who fights battles of capitalism as long as the laboring man who produces all wealth is content to have the product of his toil appropriated by his masters and bartered throughout the world.—Workers Call.

When force is resorted to reason is discarded. When wars are waged force is regarded as the prevailing power. The influence of the state is seen among individuals. Murders and suicides are multiplied when wars are carried on. Individuals have less regard for the rights of others in private life. Competition is stronger and selfishness is more prevalent.—Citizen and Country.

Whatever position Comrade Debs holds in the Socialist movement, he holds by virtue of his services to the cause, and no plan to "throw him overboard" could have the slightest chance of success so long as he continues true to himself. And the same is true of Herron of Harriman, and of every other comrade. Each is sure of just the position which his ability and his devotion entitle him to. The report so eagerly published by the newspapers was absurdly false, and will do little harm. But the fact of its circulation is significant of the capitalist desire that Socialist unity should not be effected.—The Worker.

We have been so long accustomed to regard ourselves, as a nation, as at once the most practical, inventive, ingenious and go-ahead people on the face of the earth, that we are inclined to ignore the fact that other nations are manifesting superiority to us in the very qualities upon which we most pride ourselves. That the motor-car represents at least one of the most important means of locomotion of the future seems now to be beyond all question; yet in the manufacture and development of motors the French, whom we have come to look upon as a decadent nation, have left us hopelessly in the rear.—London Justice.

Never condemn any proposition that you do not understand. All new ideas have been opposed by the mossback element in society. Many things that seemed unreasonable have come to pass and have become a great success. Socialism has its opponent in those who have never studied the question just as all other progressive movements have had. But like many other things it will finally succeed in spite of ignorance and mossbackism.—Social Economist.

These Have the Plunder.

It is reported that Andrew Carnegie still has $28,000,000 to give away out of his hard-earned "savings."

Queen Victoria, it is said, died with $150,000,000. Her fortune was acquired by "strict economy" and the exercise of methods common to all the pious plunderers of the world.

Chief among the tax dodgers of New York are those wall-flower saints and patriots, Rockefeller, Vanderbilt and Sage.

It is said that during the past twelve months twenty-six men of wealth and affluence, who derive their incomes from the labor of the people of this country, have forsworn their allegiance to the United States and secured British letters of naturalization.

The New York Herald prints a list of 3828 millionaires and states that this number, being a two-hundredth part of 1 per cent. of the population of this country, own 20 per cent. of its wealth.

Schwab, the steel man, has a simple method of dealing with strikers. It is the Homestead way. He believes in "crushing 'em."

[illegible]

THE INDIANAPOLIS CONVENTION.

It is not to find fault, but to commend [illegible] the [illegible] Socialist convention held at Indianapolis. While I could wish [illegible] some particulars, in the main the work accomplished by the [illegible] qualified approval. The best was done that could have been [illegible] circumstances, and now it remains for us to ratify the labors of the [illegible] a united and determined effort to make the Socialist party THE [illegible] America.

The general plan of organization adopted by the delegates [illegible] for all hands to work in harmony in building up the party, and if the [illegible] erts exerted in factional strife is now employed in the right direction [illegible] soon have a Socialist party that will make its influence felt in the [illegible] country and strike terror to the exploiters of the working class.

The convention, while providing for an efficient national organization [illegible] states and territories free and untrammeled in their own jurisdiction [illegible] of them is the master of its own propaganda and can proceed with [illegible] organization according to its own peculiar conditions and tendencies [illegible] only that the fundamental principles of the party are kept inviolate.

The platform as finally adopted is a clear and forceful expression of the principles and purposes of the party. While uncompromisingly Socialistic in [illegible] plank, it is broad enough as a whole for all Socialists to stand upon. The [illegible] is not the less revolutionary because of the "demands" attached to the [illegible] these clearly explain themselves and furnish a working programme that will [illegible] many to the party's standard who otherwise would keep aloof from it.

It is possible to make a platform all "science" and no sense. The one adopted at Indianapolis has both. It is the Socialist conception of present [illegible] economic conditions and tendencies and is so clearly expressed as to [illegible] conviction.

The new name of the party is more suitable than the old, for the present at least, and until Socialism has disinfected the term "democrat" from the foul pestilence of capitalist politics which clings to it like the garment of a leper.

The national headquarters are well located at St. Louis and Leon Greenbaum will make an efficient national secretary.

For the rest I am entirely satisfied to trust to the logic of events. The field of Socialist activity spreads out before us and there is ample work and opportunity for all.

The enemies of the party relied on the efficacy of falsehood and [illegible] tation to disrupt the convention and defeat unity.

From the opening to the closing day they had the writer [illegible] the heel of the convention on him to keep him there. All of which [illegible] or would be, if it had not been otherwise. The convention had other business and transacted it with fidelity and earned the respect and gratitude of its [illegible] ents; and as for the writer, he will "turn up" often enough before he gets [illegible] to relieve all anxiety on that score.

I feel as if a special word is due our own delegates. They represented the party ably and faithfully from first to last, and contributed in full [illegible] the success of the convention. In the debates, in the counsels and in the committees they won honorable distinction, and their work should be ratified by [illegible] member of the party.

I rejoice that the Herald is not only to live but to expand. It was our [illegible] light during many dark days, and I feel for it the attachment of an old comrade. In Milwaukee it has a future. With Comrades Edwards, Berger, Heath, Thomas and others in control, it will be heard from as the battle proceeds.

All success to the Socialist party of America!

August 6.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

The Movement Abroad.

The annual conference of the Social Democratic Federation of England was held in the town hall, Birmingham, August 4 and 5.

An investigation into the hours of shop-hands in no less than 514 London establishments has just been made by the National Association of Grocers' Assistants. The results of this census are rather startling. The average number of hours worked by the employes is no less than 76½ per week. In five of the shops the assistants were employed from 50 to 60 hours per week; in seventy-three shops from 60 to 70 hours; in 272 shops from 70 to 80 hours; in 152 shops from 80 to 90 hours; in 19 shops from 90 to 100 hours, and in 2 over 100 hours.

The New Zealand government continues its remarkable course of lessons in practical Socialism to the governments of Europe and America. Premier Seddon has been telling an interviewer that railways always should be owned and operated by the people for the people, and for the development of the country in that way which will best help all the people. Last year, he said, the New Zealand railways paid a profit of £3 9s5d per cent. on the cost of construction. They were only required to pay 3 per cent., and it was therefore probable that the government would further reduce the rates, because it was the settled policy of ministers to give the people the lowest possible railway tariff in the world.

Comrade James Connolly of the Irish Socialist Republican party and editor of the Workers' Republic, Dublin, has just given a week's lectures in Salford under the joint auspices of the West Salford I. L. P. and South Salford S. D. F. The visit was a most gratifying success.

While the Social Democrats of Holland polled a splendid increase in their vote in the recent national election, they duplicated the performance in the municipal elections that have just been held. In Amsterdam, the chief city, the S. D.'s gained about 70 per cent. and polled nearly one-third of the total vote. Similar reports come from other places.

Dr. Adler, the new Socialist deputy to the Landtag, has been calling attention to the action of Dr. Lueger, the anti-Semite burgomaster of Vienna, who is by virtue of his office the head of the elementary schools of that town. He interviews all candidates for the office of teacher and he makes them give their word of honor that they are not Socialists or that they will ever belong to that party. He candidly says that the aspirants are quite free not to give their word, but if they do not they will not be appointed, and should they become Socialists then they are dismissed—not, of course, on those grounds. Dr. Adler made the House laugh at the autocrat's expense.

The eighth congress of the Democratic Socialist party of Denmark has just been held at Copenhagen. The first congress was held in 1876; since then the party has made great strides. Its organization is practically identical with that of the German Socialists.

The making of matches in France is a government monopoly and the workmen and working women at Pantin, near Paris, have been on a strike, as the manager would not allow them to have a union. The government has, however, agreed to recognize the union officially, and the strike is ended.

[illegible]

... an average weekly wage of [illegible] than 10 to 15 francs for 70 and [illegible] hard work. Rich ladies in England [illegible] buy the beautiful Belgian lace [illegible] mire it in exhibitions, do not know, [illegible] do not think, that it is produced [illegible] the most indescribable misery by [illegible] working fourteen and more hours [illegible] and 80 centimes (7d and 8d) a day [illegible] workers receive from 8 to 12 fr[illegible] week for sweated toil twelve to [illegible] hours a day. And some go home at [illegible] week end with as little as 4 and 5 fr[illegible]. Half of the 700 to 800 weavers of [illegible] tryk live on charity. No wonder [illegible] tam is advancing in Flanders so [illegible]

For years inventors have been [illegible] to devise a profitable method of [illegible] ing electricity by the direct oxidation [illegible] carbon in a battery instead of through the intermediaries of heat and the [illegible] engine. That this can be done [illegible] shown over half a century ago, but [illegible] commercially practicable method of accomplishing it on a large scale has [illegible] been devised. Among those who [illegible] been studying the problem of late [illegible] Edison and Dr. Jacques of Boston, [illegible] latter thought, a few years ago, that [illegible] had solved it. The Jacques carbon battery was described at length in these columns. Its claims have not been justified. The very latest invention along this line has been made by Hugo Jone[illegible] as assistant city chemist of Chicago, who has invented a carbon battery that [illegible] claims will yield 35 per cent. of the energy that is stored up in coal, or [illegible] times as much as the present combination of boiler, stem engine and dynamo.

Strikes in Mexico.

Mexican industry is developing rapidly, many American capitalists having made large investments in new railroads [illegible] manufacturing enterprises. Along with this growth of capitalism is coming, of course, the growth of a labor movement. A San Antonio dispatch of July 26 shows this fact. There is a strike of engineers on the Mexican International railroad. These engineers are largely Americans, as there is not a sufficient number of skilled Mexican engineers to meet the demand of the new roads. The dispatch states that "President Diaz has [illegible] strict orders, which have been forward[illegible] ed to the railroad management, wherein he prohibits strikes in the republic [illegible] proffers the railroads governmental [illegible] if necessary to break any further strike like that of the engineers. In return the railroad management has promised not to re-employ any of the strikers, their places having been filled with Mexicans." This playing off of "natives" against "Americano" may serve the purpose of the capitalists for a time, but sooner or later the Mexican and American workingmen will learn to [illegible] gether.

[illegible] SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC [illegible]

DIE WAHRHE[illegible]

Oldest established Social Democratic [illegible] in the United States. [illegible] Subscription $1 per year. [illegible] Editor, 614 State St., Milwaukee, [illegible]

MERRIE ENGLA[illegible]

(GERMAN EDITION)

The Famous Book [illegible] BLATCHFORD [illegible] German by VICTOR [illegible]

[illegible] Pages.

[illegible] Democratic Herald

[illegible] DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO.

[illegible] STATE STREET.

[illegible] - - WISCONSIN.

[illegible] A. S. Edwards.

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MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, AUG. 17, 1901.

TO EXCHANGE EDITORS.

[illegible]dly change the address of The Herald on your lists from 126 Washington St., Chicago, to 614 State St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The Mission of Socialism.

[illegible] is a political organization in [illegible] that it deals with governmental [illegible] municipal, state and national, [illegible] upon the ballot to achieve [illegible] reforms.

[illegible] is partisan, as being devoted [illegible] principles which distinguish it [illegible] purpose and method from all other [illegible]ations.

[illegible] is a combination of science [illegible] philosophy working together har[illegible] to solve problems of govern[illegible] and civilization in the interest of [illegible]ity.

[illegible] addition to all this, Socialism deals [illegible] problems of economics, the solution [illegible] which is of commanding interest to [illegible]viduals, to communities and the [illegible] In such matters Socialism is in [illegible]vance of all other organizations. It [illegible] cognizance of wealth and poverty, [illegible] and wages, capital in all of its [illegible], and industries in their wid[illegible] sweep. It holds fast to the axio[illegible] truth that prosperity is a delusion [illegible] which only the few participate, while [illegible] masses are neither included nor con[illegible].

[illegible]ialism admits all that can be said [illegible] of mind activities and intellec[illegible] force in human affairs, and is there[illegible] the champion of education, which [illegible] head and hand for producing con[illegible] promotive of the general welfare. [illegible] a word, Socialism is a system com[illegible] principles fundamental and far [illegible]ching. This is necessarily so, be[illegible] the mission of Socialism is the [illegible]ination of defects from our civiliza[illegible], and for the accomplishment of its [illegible] it forever holds aloft the con[illegible] power of truth, justice and love, and bases its expectations of ultimate victory upon the fact that the factors of its faith are essentially magnetic, at[illegible]tracting and holding men susceptible of [illegible]fluences upon which conditions depend for improvement.

Socialism is not a maze, a labyrinth in which men may wander in its winding ways all their days, deceived by every pathway which invited their footsteps. On the contrary, the ways in which So[illegible]cialism seeks the goal of triumph, are straight as bee lines, and those who walk in them need not err.

The paramount issues of Socialism are always paramount, supreme and pre[illegible]eminent. Not so with other parties. With them paramount issues today are subordinate tomorrow, and the next day they disappear and other evanescent make-shifts are introduced to delude the people, and obscure the cunning and treachery of those who seek and achieve success by jugglery.

This is neither an exaggeration nor [illegible]mistic view of the old party plat[illegible]forms, or the methods by which they ob[illegible]tain and maintain control of affairs.

[illegible] a large per cent. of the people [illegible] becoming not only dissatisfied but [illegible]gusted with their dissimulations, is [illegible]own by the wide-spread unrest every[illegible]where prevailing and the strikes by [illegible] working men seek to remedy the [illegible] which afflict them. They make [illegible]crifices of time, comfort and money to [illegible] at last that organized capital with [illegible] devil-fish tentacles, prehensile and [illegible]ful, is dragging them down to [illegible] degrading depths of wage slaves. [illegible]ialism proposes remedies, and in [illegible] instance when one of them is ap[illegible] results are secured which secure [illegible] commendations, and amidst the [illegible]ife and clash of the old parties con[illegible]ding for the mastery, the great mass [illegible] the people are comprehending the fact [illegible] the principles and methods of So[illegible]cialism open the way to better conditions [illegible] a better type of civilization.

[illegible]chbishop Ireland, referring to the [illegible]workers' strike, says: "Equity and [illegible] are superior to the welfare of ag[illegible]tions of individuals." But just the [illegible] of this has been demonstrated to [illegible] of all aggregations of capitalists [illegible] country. Their class interests [illegible] all law, as the St. Paul church[illegible] [illegible] fact is more notorious [illegible] it or not.

[illegible] we begin the pub[illegible] of Karl Kaut[illegible] "The Prole[illegible] install[illegible] A copy [illegible]

[illegible]

The Servant Girls' union has won its first victory. The chambermaids of the [illegible] hotel, Chicago, struck for the im[illegible] payment of their wages which had been withheld. A brief tie up of the [illegible] and unkempt rooms soon brought the manager to terms, and the plucky girls were paid in a hurry. No class of workers is more subject to the caprice of employers than servant girls, yet no class is more intimately connected with their comfort. An exact defining of the servant girls' rights and duties would be of infinite advantage to both parties to the bargain. There is no reason why the mill and factory should be run on union principles, while the home pre[illegible]serves an antiquated labor system, hand[illegible]ed down from the ancient days of do[illegible]mestic slavery. Justice, after all, is the most comfortable foundation for a house[illegible]hold.

Socialist Party News.

A new branch of German workingmen has been organized at Orange, N. J.

William A. Kennedy is now business manager of the Haverhill Social Dem[illegible]ocrat.

A series of Thursday night meetings in the Academy of Sciences hall, San Fran[illegible]cisco, are proving very successful.

The Socialist party has candidates for county officers nominated at Philadelphia. Headquarters are at 931 Callowhill street.

San Francisco Advance says State Or[illegible]ganizer Scott Anderson reports success[illegible]ful meetings in the southern counties of California.

A reception was given to all the dele[illegible]gates to the convention from Chicago by the Ladies' Auxiliary society last Satur[illegible]day night at the Socialist Temple.

"The Comrade," a new illustrated So[illegible]cialist monthly announced to appear in New York, on September 15. It is to be a high-class literary paper for the home and will consist of cartoons, portraits, sketches, stories, poems and interviews.

Professor Emile Vinck will arrive in New York about the first of September with the purpose of making a lecture tour across the country as far west as ar[illegible]rangements can be made. Professor Vincke is a member of the faculty of the "New University" in Brussels, the most important socialist educational institu[illegible]tion in the world. He is also the secre[illegible]tary of the Federation of Socialist Munic[illegible]ipal Councillors of Belgium, and is with[illegible]out doubt the greatest living authority on socialist activity in municipalities. He speaks either French, English or German with equal ease, and is a fluent and elo[illegible]quent speaker.

Milwaukee Basket Picnic.

The central committee of Milwaukee has completed arrangements for a basket picnic to take place at Sneider's park, Thirty-fifth and Vliet streets, Sunday, August 25. The picnic committee has made every arrangement for the enter[illegible]tainment of those who will attend. There will be music, dancing, games, prizes and last, but not least, refreshments of all kinds, and everything else that conduces to a hot old time. The price, which in[illegible]cludes all the refreshments to the full limit of one's capacity, is 75 cents per single man, or $1.00 for the family. Let everyone bring his sweetheart, wife, chil[illegible]dren or some old chum and make this the jolliest time of the year.

PICNIC COMMITTEE.

Wisconsin Delegates' Report.

A meeting of Social Democrats was held last Monday night at Freie Gemein[illegible]de hall, Milwaukee, to hear the reports of delegates to the Indianapolis conven[illegible]tion. There was a good attendance and plenty of enthusiasm. A committee of seven was elected to draft a state consti[illegible]tution, preliminary to reorganization to conform to the new conditions. Dele[illegible]gates Berger, Thomas, Seidl and Forman gave brief accounts of the convention work and short speeches were made by Comrades A. S. Edwards and Jesse Cox.

Labor Day at Milwaukee.

The Labor day celebration in Milwau[illegible]kee will be an event in the history of the working class to be remembered. It is expected that between 10,000 and 15,000 men will be in line. Representatives of the council committee are endeavoring to secure excursion rates for the organized laborers of Beloit who will probably be in the procession 1200 strong. A. S. Ed[illegible]wards, associate editor of the Social Democratic Herald, has been secured as the principal speaker and there will also be short addresses by other speakers in various languages.

A dispatch from Cleveland, O., says the officials of the Brotherhood of Loco[illegible]motive Engineers and Brotherhood of Trainmen having headquarters in that city believe there is little probability of railway employes becoming involved in the steel strike. Both organizations men[illegible]tioned have provisions in their constitu[illegible]tions that prevent sympathetic strikes, and neither organization is affiliated with any other organization in such a way as to make it possible for either to become involved in the strike of other organiza[illegible]tions which are not directly involved.

John Burns, M. P., the British labor leader, speaking about the American strikes and the aggression of capital, a few days ago forecasted an Armaged[illegible]don. If the trusts survive in the United States, they will be promoted more largely elsewhere until they dominate the earth. The Toronto Globe next day repeated the prediction of "an Armaged[illegible]don of capital and labor." "It is the fight of a man in his cottage against the capitalist in his palace," said the Globe, and "men who engage in so hazardous a contest must have a profound conviction of the justice of their cause." The Globe's article is a prediction of defeat for the [illegible] and a [illegible] of their [illegible].

WHAT DID DEBS SAY?

[illegible] of the capitalist [illegible] have been greatly disturbed [illegible] Debs' Fourth of July speech in Chicago. [illegible] They are [illegible] by the notion that only the [illegible] flag can stand for or countenance slavery. [illegible] under the sway of "Old Glory" there is any [illegible] comparable with the status of [illegible] in other countries, [illegible] their capitalistic hypocrisies readily [illegible] into the grossest [illegible] and perversion of anything Debs says.

That staid and conservative old strumpet, Harper's Weekly, indulges in an attack on Debs, the animus of which has its origin in the capitalist concep[illegible]tion of patriotism, which is that whatever the capitalist class does is patriotic, and the flag stands not for the freedom and aspirations of a people, but for the sanctified interests of a class.

For the enlightenment of the patriots of commercialism, it is well to recall exactly what Debs said. This we do, not with any hope that the profound sig[illegible]nificance contained in his simple words will penetrate their minds, but to show that their abuse strikes at the traditions and institutions the flag is supposed to represent, and not at the object of their cordial dislike. This is what Debs said:

"On this day, commemorating the Fourth of July, 1776, the declaration of independence was issued. Thousands of orators all over this broad land will glorify the institutions under which we live. In pride they will point toward Old Glory and declare that it is a flag that waves over a free country. In these modern days we hear very much about that flag and about the institu[illegible]tions over which it waves. I am not of those who worship the flag. I have no respect for the stars and stripes, or for any other flag that symbolizes slavery. It does not matter to me what others may think, say or do. I propose to pre[illegible]serve the integrity of my soul. I will give a transcript of my mind and tell you precisely what I think. Not very long ago the President of the country, in the attitude of mock heroics, asked who would haul down the flag. I will tell him. Triumphant Socialism will haul down that flag and every other that sym[illegible]bolizes capitalist class rule and wage slavery. I am a patriot, not in the sense that I love my country, but in the sense that I love all countries."

Now, since the capitalist penmen do not agree with Debs, and since the propo[illegible]sition that the flag waves over institutions that have been perverted to the service of wealth, that everywhere—even in the Supreme court—the constitution has been spurned and torn to shreds, is regarded as a musty, outgrown docu[illegible]ment, no longer suited to the requirements of a country dominated and con[illegible]trolled in every department of its government by the class which controls the economic interests of the land; since, in brief, the flag waves over slavery, does not even protect the negro thirty years after the war, is used to subject weaker peoples to the yoke of capitalism and for no other purpose, the point of the whole matter is that Debs spoke the truth. Truth never weighs against the economic interests of those in power.

Harper's Weekly is a traditional defender of slavery, for, as Debs says, when Wendell Phillips assailed slavery that paper condemned him as a traitor and wanted him punished.

ONE SUIT FOR SIX BOYS.

"They tell me you work for a dollar a day,
How is it you clothe your six boys on such pay?"
"I know you will consider it conceited and queer,
But I do it because I'm a good financier.
There's Pete, John, Jim, and Joe and William and Ned,
A half dozen boys to be clothed up and fed.
And I buy for them all good, plain victuals to eat,
But clothing—I only buy clothing for Pete.
When Pete's clothes are too small for him to get on,
My wife makes 'em over and gives 'em to John.
When for John, who is ten, they have grown out of date,
She just makes 'em over for Jim, who is eight.
When for Jim they've become too ragged to fix,
She just makes 'em over for Joe, who is six.
And when little Joseph can't wear 'em no more,
She just makes 'em over for Bill, who is four.
And when for young Bill they no longer will do,
She just makes 'em over for Ned, who is two.
So you see if I get enough clothing for Pete,
The family is furnished with clothing complete."
"But when Ned has got through with the clothing, and when
He has thrown it aside—what do you do with it then?"
"Why, once more we go round the circle complete,
And begin to use it for patches for Pete."

—S. W. Foss.

The Class Struggle.

The Great Strike Ordered.

President Shaffer of the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers promulgat[illegible]ed the general strike order August 5, the same to go into effect after the last turn of the mills on August 10. It reads as follows:

"Brethren: The officials of the Unit[illegible]ed States Steel trust have refused to rec[illegible]ognize as union men those who are now striving for the right to organize. The executive board has authorized me to is[illegible]sue a call upon all Amalgamated and other union men in name and heart to join the movement to fight for labor's rights.

"We must fight or give up forever our personal liberties.

"You will be told that you have signed contracts, but you never agreed to sur[illegible]render those contracts to the United States Steel corporation. Its officers think you were sold to them just as the mills were, contracts and all.

"Remember, before you agreed to any contract you took an obligation to the Amalgamated association. It now calls you to help in this hour of need.

"Unless the trouble is settled on or be[illegible]fore Saturday, August 10, 1901, the mills will close when the last turn is made on that day.

"Brethren, this is the call to preserve our organization. We trust and need you. Come and help us and may right come to a just cause. Fraternally yours,

"T. J. Shaffer."

The call goes to the vice-presidents of the districts in which there are mills owned and operated by the National Steel, National Tube and Federal Steel companies, as well as to the officials of the lodges in the mills.

No Sympathetic Strike.

From Atlantic City, N. J., Samuel Gompers, president of the American Fed[illegible]eration of Labor, is reported as saying that he did not look for a sympathetic strike. He gave evasive answers to all questions touching on the strike of steel workers. One of the officials of the federation stated positively that under no conditions could President Gompers or the executive council order a strike. He thought that before any such up[illegible]heaval would take place that powerful influence would be brought to bear on the steel trust to adjust the issues.

On the other hand, Frank Morrison, secretary of the federation, while de[illegible]claring that the council could not order a strike, said it could meet and issue advice to the constituent bodies.

"I cannot say at this time," said Mr. Morrison, "what the American Federa[illegible]tion of Labor will do to assist the Amal[illegible]gamated association, and no officer of our federation can, simply because it has not been decided what we will do. I am confident that we will co-operate to such an extent as our assistance may be neces[illegible]sary. Just what form this co-operation will take remains to be seen. It may be by contributions raised by [illegible] [illegible] and our affiliated [illegible] may deem it expedient to go on sympa[illegible]thetic strikes. A boycott of the prod[illegible]ucts of the United States Steel corpora[illegible]tion is another means of bringing the trust to terms. The officers of the Amal[illegible]gamated association who have been en[illegible]trusted with the negotiations that have resulted in the general strike order to[illegible]day have gone over the situation care[illegible]fully with us, and it is no secret that we understand each other."

The impression prevails in labor cir[illegible]cles here that the general strike order initiates a terrific struggle between cap[illegible]ital and labor, and that all labor organ[illegible]izations will soon be involved unless the steel magnates make concessions at an early date.

Later President Gompers was reported as saying at Pittsburg:

"We shall stand by the Amalgamated association in the present conflict to the full extent of our power, both morally and financially; we shall aid in every lawful way the men on strike, or who may come out on strike to maintain the workers in their right to organize, and the extension of their organization, so that the only power which stands for their protection and advancement against the avarice of concentrated wealth may be perfected and perpetuated.

"When the overweening rich combine for avarice, power and tyranny, is it not the duty of the workers to unite for home, justice, right or humanity?"

Struggle of the Workers.

Bakers of Royersford and Spring City, Pa., have unanimously resolved to stop night work altogether.

The San Francisco Labor council has unanimously declared against the ac[illegible]ceptance of $750,000 from Andrew Car[illegible]negie for a public library.

The police commissioners of San Fran[illegible]cisco have granted hundreds of permits to nonunion men to carry revolvers in the strike of the water front employes.

Chicago officials of the International Association of Machinists declare that in that city out of ninety-five firms all but eighteen have conceded the demands of the organization.

Thirty men prominent in the labor movement of Florida have disappeared from Tampa. The community is bewil[illegible]dered. It is believed the men have been taken away on an unknown vessel.

There is a plan on foot to form an ad[illegible]visory board to aid President Shaffer in carrying on the strike. It will be com[illegible]posed of national officers of the various trade organizations having headquarters in Pittsburg.

Five hundred girls employed in the cloakmaking factories of Meyer Wessel, Rubel, Wild & Co., and several other manufacturers went on strike in sym[illegible]pathy with about 1200 men who are out for recognition of the union.

Members of Chicago Iron Founders' association are now offering a bonus of [illegible] a day for nonunion molders to take the places of striking union men. Every day brings fresh evidence that the em[illegible]ploying class has determined to break down union labor.

[illegible]

Fifteen thousand men went on strike in San Francisco [illegible] The strikers are [illegible] city [illegible] and [illegible]men.

Negotiations for a settlement of the la[illegible]bor troubles at San Francisco have re[illegible]sulted in a failure. Indications now are that the strike will not be ended until after a bitter and protracted struggle. The San Francisco labor council has en[illegible]tered the contest for the first time and has called out the sand teamsters. Ship[illegible]ping remains pretty well tied up.

Rather a new thing in the labor world is a strike of the agents of the North American Life Insurance company at To[illegible]ronto, Canada. Because one of their num[illegible]ber was forced to pay some arrears on a premium in default owing, the manage[illegible]ment held, to his failure to collect, fifteen of the staff, including the superintendent, put on their coats and walked out.

At the National Steel company's fur[illegible]nace at Mingo Junction, Aug. 5, several striking Hungarians attempted to take their old positions which had been filled by Italians. A fierce fight followed, which ended in the Italians being badly worsted and ejected from the mill. All the Hun[illegible]garians who went out are now back at work in their former positions, and with[illegible]out getting the increase for which they struck.

A new factor has been brought into the great labor struggles. The Superior court of Connecticut has given a sweep[illegible]ing injunction to a company whose em[illegible]ployes are on strike. This injunction names each of the 210 strikers, and en[illegible]joins them from picketing, boycotting, threatening, or in any way molesting anyone in the employ of the company. Property of the individual strikers to the value of twenty-five thousand dollars has been attached.

About 200 men employed at the Evans colliery, Beaver Meadow, Pa., struck Aug. 5 because of the refusal of the fore[illegible]man to reinstate two drivers discharged for alleged infraction of the rules. At the Audenreid colliery of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal company 800 miners quit work and claim they will not return to work until their card inspection com[illegible]mittee, refused access to the premises, is given permission to visit the workings and look at the cards of all union mem[illegible]bers.

[illegible]

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